

Message Text

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PAGE 01 BONN 09388 01 OF 02 021958Z
ACTION SS-25

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O R 021946Z JUN 77 ZFF 4
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8754
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USBERLIN
USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 09388

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, GE, GW, WB, US, UR, UK, FR, NATO
SUBJECT: DIE ZEIT REPORT ON SOVIET DEMARCHES

REF: BONN 9386

1. BEGIN SUMMARY AND COMMENT: PRESS TREATMENT OF THE SOVIET DEMARCHES ON ALLIED FLAG TOURS IN BERLIN, WHICH APPEARED TO HAVE DIED DOWN, WAS REVIVED WITH AN ARTICLE IN THE INSIDE PAGES OF THE JUNE 3 EDITION OF DIE ZEIT. THE ARTICLE WAS WRITTEN BY JOACHIM NAWROCKI, A HIGHLY-RESPECTED AND WELL-INFORMED JOURNALIST WHO HEADS DIE ZEIT'S BERLIN BUREAU. THE ARTICLE IS BOTH COMPREHENSIVE AND CORRECT IN MANY RESPECTS, ALTHOUGH IT DOES CONTAIN SEVERAL INACCURACIES, E.G., A REPORTED SOVIET THREAT TO TRANSFER TO THE GDR AUTHORITY OVER ALLIED ACCESS TO WEST BERLIN, AN EXAGGERATED ESTIMATE OF THE NUMBER OF FLAG TOURS AND
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 BONN 09388 01 OF 02 021958Z

A STATEMENT THAT THE NUMBER OF TOURS WAS INCREASED IN RESPONSE TO THE SOVIET DEMARCHES. IN WHAT APPEARS TO BE A NEW ELEMENT IN THE PRESS REPORTING OF THE SUBJECT, THE ARTICLE STATES THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE INDICATED THAT THEIR FUTURE ACTIONS WILL DEPEND IN PART ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF FRG/BERLIN TIES. AN INFORMAL TRANSLATION OF THE TEXT FOLLOWS. END SUMMARY

AND COMMENT

BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED

MORE ALLIED PATROLS IN EAST BERLIN

THE THREE WESTERN POWERS ARE NOT ESPECIALLY HAPPY THAT THE LATEST SOVIET DEMARCHE OF THE FOUR-POWER STATUS OF GREATER BERLIN HAS MADE SUCH HIGH PUBLIC WAVES. NOW MOSCOW'S PRESTIGE IS AT STAKE.

FOR SOME WEEKS NOW SEVERAL ALLIED DIPLOMATS IN BERLIN HAD NOT BEEN ABLE TO HIDE THEIR CONCERN THAT THE POSSIBILITY THAT A NEW CONFLICT WITH THE SOVIET UNION IS NEAR. WITH RARE DISCRETION, HOWEVER, THEY HAVE REFUSED TO GIVE ANY DETAILS. ONLY A FEW KNEW WHAT WAS INVOLVED: SOVIET DIPLOMATS, IN A COORDINATED ACTION AT SEVERAL LEVELS AND IN SEVERAL PLACES, HAD DECLARED THAT THE HERETOFORE ROUTINE PATROLS OF WESTERN ALLIED SOLDIERS INTO THE EASTERN SECTOR OF BERLIN WOULD HAVE TO BE TERMINATED.

AS FAR AS IS KNOWN, THE SOVIETS MADE THIS DEMAND AS EARLY AS THE BEGINNING OF FEBRUARY. IN SO DOING, THEY INDICATED THAT THEIR POSITION ON THIS QUESTION DEPENDED NOT LEAST UPON HOW WEST BERLIN'S TIES TO THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC DEVELOP. THEY CONTINUED THAT ANY FURTHER STEP, WHICH, IN THEIR OPINION VIOLATES THE PRINCIPLE THAT WEST BERLIN IS NOT A CONSTITUENT PART
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 BONN 09388 01 OF 02 021958Z

OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC, WILL INCREASE THE INTENSITY OF THE SOVIET DEMANDS. IN CONNECTION THEREWITH, IT WAS INDICATED THAT THE GDR SOUGHT AN END TO ALLIED PATROLS IN THEIR CAPITAL CITY. AT THE SAME TIME THE SOVIET DIPLOMATS ALSO MENTIONED THE POSSIBILITY OF SOVIET TRANSFER TO THE GDR OF THE CONTROLS ON ALLIED PERSONNEL WHO TRAVEL ON THE AUTOBAHN BETWEEN BERLIN AND WEST GERMANY.

THE WESTERN POWERS VIEW BOTH DEMARCHES WITH EXTRAORDINARY SERIOUSNESS. IN THEIR VIEW, THE SOVIETS ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR ALLIED TRAFFIC IN GDR TERRITORY, AND THE FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT OF ALLIED SOLDIERS AND

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PAGE 01 BONN 09388 02 OF 02 022003Z
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S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 09388

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DIPLOMATS IN GREATER BERLIN IS, FOR THEM, ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT ELEMENTS OF THE FOUR-POWER STATUS OF GREATER BERLIN. IN A CONVERSATION AT THE BEGINNING OF MAY WHICH THE AMERICAN FOREIGN MINISTER VANCE HAD WITH THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR IN WASHINGTON, DOBRYNIN, IT WAS MADE CLEAR THAT WERE THE SOVIETS TO CARRY OUT THE THREATS TO WHICH THEY ALLUDED, EXTRAORDINARILY SERIOUS INJURY TO THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE WESTERN POWERS AND THE SOVIET UNION WOULD RESULT.

THE CONVERSATION BETWEEN VANCE AND DOBRYNIN WAS OBVIOUSLY SO DISTURBING THAT THE BERLIN DECLARATION, WHICH WAS ISSUED AT THE SUMMIT CONFERENCE IN LONDON BY THE FOUR CHIEFS OF GOVERNMENT FROM WASHINGTON, LONDON, PARIS AND BONN IN THE MIDDLE OF MAY, CONTAINED UNUSUALLY CLEAR WARNINGS. ACCORDING TO THE DECLARATION, THE THREE WESTERN POWERS SAW A SERIOUS THREAT TO DETENTE SHOULD ONE OF THE FOUR SIGNATORY POWERS OF THE FOUR-POWER AGREEMENT ON BERLIN NOT FULLY RESPECT THE OBLIGA-
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SECRET

PAGE 02 BONN 09388 02 OF 02 022003Z

TIONS CONTAINED THEREIN.

IT WAS EMPHASIZED THAT THE BERLIN AGREEMENT IS

"BASED EXPLICITLY UPON THE FACT THAT THE QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES AND THE CORRESPONDING WARTIME AND POST-WAR AGREEMENTS AND DECISIONS WERE NOT AFFECTED" AND THAT THE STATUS OF THE AREA OF BERLIN CANNOT BE UNILATERALLY CHANGED. THE THREE POWERS, IT CONTINUED, WOULD ALSO REJECT IN THE FUTURE ANY ATTEMPT TO PUT INTO QUESTION THEIR RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES FOR GERMANY AS A WHOLE AND FOR ALL FOUR SECTORS.

ALTHOUGH THE GOVERNMENT PRESS SECRETARY, BOELLING, EMPHASIZED IN BONN THAT THERE WAS NO CURRENT REASON FOR THIS BERLIN STATEMENT, IT WAS CLEAR TO THE INITIATED THAT THESE PASSAGES RELATED TO THE SOVIET DEMAND. THE WESTERN POWERS TOOK ONE OTHER STEP IN ORDER TO DEMONSTRATE THEIR POSITION: THEY INCREASED THE NUMBER OF THEIR PATROLS THROUGH EAST BERLIN. PREVIOUSLY, ACCORDING TO UNOFFICIAL SOURCES, THERE WERE ABOUT 12 AMERICAN AND APPROXIMATELY ONE DOZEN MORE ENGLISH AND FRENCH MILITARY VEHICLES WHICH TRAVELED DAILY THROUGH THE EASTERN SECTOR OF BERLIN. IN RECENT WEEKS, THE NUMBER OF FLAG PATROLS HAS TEMPORARILY NEARLY DOUBLED IN ORDER TO DEMONSTRATE TO THE SOVIET UNION AND INDIRECTLY ALSO TO THE GDR THAT THE WESTERN POWERS UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES INTEND TO SURRENDER THE RIGHTS WHICH THEY HAVE EXERCISED FOR MORE THAN 30 YEARS.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE GDR REACTED TO THE LONDON DECLARATION ON BERLIN IN A CORRESPONDINGLY IRRITATED FASHION. SED GENERAL SECRETARY HONECKER SAID IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE DECLARATION WAS MADE THAT IT IS AN ENCOURAGEMENT FOR THOSE "WHO STILL BELIEVE THAT THEY CAN RUN THROUGH THE WALL WITH THEIR HEAD." HE
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SECRET

PAGE 03 BONN 09388 02 OF 02 022003Z

SAID THE DECLARATION RETROACTIVELY CONFIRMED THE HISTORICAL NECESSITY OF THE WALL.

IN A RADIO MOSCOW COMMENTARY, IT WAS SAID THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO FOUR-POWER STATUS IN BERLIN SINCE 1948 AND ALL ARGUMENTS BASED ON THIS STATUS ARE USELESS. CONCERNING THE LONDON DECLARATION, IN WHICH THE FOUR WESTERN CHIEFS OF GOVERNMENT "REVIEWED THE SITUATION IN GERMANY AND PARTICULARLY BERLIN," RADIO MOSCOW STATED, "AS IS WELL KNOWN THERE HAS BEEN NO GERMANY AND ALSO NO BERLIN SINCE A LONG TIME AGO." IT WAS, OF COURSE, NOT EXPLAINED WHY THE SOVIET TROOPS STATIONED IN THE DDR EVEN TODAY ARE STILL OFFICIALLY CALLED THE "GROUP OF SOVIET FORCES IN GERMANY."

THESE PUBLIC POLEMICS HAVE ENGAGED SOVIET PRESTIGE.
FOR THIS REASON, THE WESTERN ALLIES HOPE THAT THE
EXCITEMENT WILL SOON DIE DOWN AGAIN SO THAT THE
SOVIET PUSH, AS IS THE CASE WITH SO MANY OTHER ATTEMPTS
TO CIRCUMSCRIBE THE RIGHTS OF THE WESTERN POWERS, CAN
BE RETIRED TO THE FILES.

END UNCLASSIFIED STOESSEL

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